5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

Certainly the feeling that twins are an evil omen is widespread throughout this extensive area. But I found no evidence to show that the Balinese ever went so far as to kill the children, except in the case of triplets which were two boys and one girl. A Padandă from Sanur and a lontar from Kabă-Kabă (Tabanan) stated that these were to be thrown in the sea or abandoned on the shore; but my informants added that "other people", i.e. not the parents, might take them up and care for them. Probably the high mortality of twins in Bali is sufficiently explained by the undesirable removal of them the day after birth, the sojourn in an inadequate shelter during the first weeks, and perhaps the physical and mental effects on the mother of the whole anxious period before the purification.

Another point must be mentioned in connection with the early death and the separation of the twins. I was told by Chokordă Anom, keeper of the genealogy (*babad*) of the ruling family of Klungkung, that in the time of the Balinese kings all twins and triplets were taken into the Puri of the Rajă to become his slaves (*parĕkan*). The Rajă had the right to take these children, whether two boys, two girls, or whatever the assortment of the sexes. The Rajă's power over them continued throughout their lifetime. It happened in Taro in the last generation that a boy-twin was separated from his sister when they reached puberty, by order of the Anak Agung (prince) of Tĕgal-lalang, whose *parĕkan* the boy became. Later the boy was released from servitude. He returned to Taro and married his twin. He is now dead, and his widow is an old woman. This is the only case I found where a twin or triplet was taken by a prince, although De Vroom speaks of finding in lontars that boy and girl twins may be dedicated to the prince, who will have them educated [1]). And this case also is too far in the past to make sure that it was on account of his being a twin that the boy was taken into servitude. Princes in Bali still can find ways of casting their subjects into

[1]) Vide p. 510 nt. 1.

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temporary servitude, and this must have been more true before the influence of the Dutch government overspread the island. However, if it *was* the custom for twins to become slaves, that might explain both their reported high mortality and their custom of separation (regardless of whether or not they proposed to marry). For the old Rajă's of Bali ruled their kingdoms loosely, leaving each village its independent organization, themselves rarely venturing beyond their palace walls. From time to time they sent a Patih or emissary to collect tribute, or to bring back some offender against the crown to have his head chopped off. (Such is the picture suggested by the literature, the popular legends and dramatic plays representing older times.) In cases where two or more children had been born at once, it would have been easy enough to cheat the Rajă of his slaves by the adoption of the extra children into other houses, and the reported death of any child whose liability to servitude threatened. However the death of one or more of the children does not release the parents from the full obligation of banishment and the purification ceremonies prescribed by the village law. A crime against the community and a crime against the Rajă were two distinct things. In Kutri (Singapadu) boy and girl twins were born in September, 1933. Both died the day of their birth, before the *kubu* on the road to the graveyard had been finished for their reception. But the parents were banished just the same, and the full order of ceremonies took place after forty-two days.

This brings us to the question of whether the "wrongness" of boy and girl twins in Jabă families is a concept rooted in the ancient belief of the Balinese people antedating their conquest by Hindu-Javanese princes, or a concept spread among them by those conquerors. As has been seen from the notes on various peoples quoted above, the concept is characteristic not only of Southern British India, but widespread in great reaches of Oceania. It has been reported from the Philippines that the Nabaloi people, inhabiting Benguet, North Luzon, believe "if there are twins, one is the child of the *ampasit* (a malevolent spirit belonging to

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we have found, exist between one text and another, and the illogical, confused order, even contradictions, appearing within a single text. It is to be said, however, that there is no reason why the texts originating in different districts should coincide, for these were in the old days under the rule of different princes. As the years went by each royal family developed its laws independently, and as we have seen, the people considered the laws for *manak salah* to come from the king. And the custom within individual villages would tend to take on its own character, for there was and still is little connection between the doings of one village and the next. The position of the Sĕngguhu is curious, for as these priests are rare, they generally have to be called from a distant village to officiate in the village where they are needed. Then, although they may have their own rules to be followed, they merely play their role according to the custom of the village which has engaged them. In Taro, where twins were born three times within two years because the disaster occurred in three different families, each of these chose to call in a different Sĕngguhu priest. But the way of the ceremony remained the same, following the laws of Taro. So that in the case of the lontar of the Sĕngguhu in Tonjă, it is possible that it would never be referred to except when *manak šalah* happened in that very village.

Out of the confusion which a study of a single ritual has shown to exist in Bali, I can draw no conclusions. I can only hope that scholars on examining the data will find it useful in reconstructing a picture of the early culture of Bali, and by comparison with other material be able to judge whether or not the roots of the custom pertaining to twins lie in pre-Hindu times.

Sayan, Bali, Sept. 1, 1934.

8:Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

stalks) for washing the hair; and *kĕmbang*, flowers for personal adornment. The *lis* is then ready to fulfil its important ceremonial function.[13]

The Ceremony of Sprinkling Holy Water

The ceremony of *malis* and the reciting of the *mantra lis* constitute part of the ritual performed by the *pamangku*, the *sudra* priest of the village or temple. However, I have also observed both Siwaite and Buddhist Brahman priests revering the *lis* and reciting the *mantra lis* after performing the ceremonial preparation of holy water.

At the commencement of the ceremony the *lis* is placed not directly in front of the priest together with the bell, incense bowl, and other paraphernalia, but a little to the rear of where he is seated. As soon as the gods are considered to be present and to grant holy water, at a signal from the priest the offering maker cuts the strips of leaf with which the *lis* is held in a doubled-up position. Then she snips off a tuft of the mass of *busung* strips forming the top; and after this ritual hair cutting she cuts open the *tipats* which contain symbolically food for the living being the *lis* has now become. The tuft of 'hair' is placed in the body of the *lis*, sometimes in the *tipat tulud* (33).

These preparations completed, the *lis* is handed to the priest who places it upright directly in front of him and recites the *mantra* while sprinkling it with holy water.

Next, a group of women assistants perform the ritual of purifying the temple from all forces of evil so that the priest can then present the offerings to the gods. The *lis* is first waved in the direction of the throne of the sun and then, in turn, toward the thrones of the other deities. Following this, the already mentioned ceremony of strewing *isuh isuh* is performed, the women proceeding around the three courtyards of the temple and coming finally to the outer entrance, there repeating the strewing of *isuh-isuh* in the direction in which the entrance faces.

On several occasions I saw the ritual of *malis* also performed at household ceremonies, such as those in connection with teeth-filing and at the celebration of the *nĕlu bulanin*, the festivity held when a child is three months old.

[13] Swellengrebel, op. cit., lists certain components of the *lis* which were included in the *lis* used at the consecration of the Prince of Gianjar in 1903, but which he did not see on any other occasion. These particular components were similarly not included in the *lis* which I saw. There is every reason to assume that these components would be made only for the consecration of a prince, particularly as the *talaga* (lake) figures amongst them, for the ritual bath takes place in a *talaga*. Cf. J. H. Hooykaas van Leeuwen Boomkamp '*Upon a White Stone under a Nagasari Tree*', Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indie, CXIII, 4, 1957, pp. 324 340.